

# HUMANITIES NETWORK



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*"Our attitude toward language cannot be different from that of our predecessors and our responsibilities are even greater than theirs because we have fewer illusions about the ideas that Western civilization once dreamed were eternal. The life and history of our people demand the creation of a form that will express this demand and that will also transcend it without betraying it."*

--Octavio Paz

## What Is And What Ought To Be

Professor Jorge A. Bustamante, Department of Sociology, Colegio de Mexico, Mexico City

There seems to be an inherent dilemma in the notion of equality for all people and the notion of national sovereignty. Nobody should deny the sovereign right of a country to determine who will enter and who should be excluded. Immigration laws derive from that universally valid principle. Those laws define what ought to be. But the human experience of immigration represents what is. Part of the apparent dilemma is that both the "what is" and the "what ought to be" lie within the ethical responsibilities of the nation-state.

The dilemma becomes less apparent, however, when these ethical responsibilities are separated for analytical purposes. The nation-state must be held responsible for its actions in both the "what ought to be" and the "what is," even as we recognize that in the first category the judiciary of a democratic society is primarily responsible, while in the second category, the legislative and executive branches are responsible.

A question regarding the first area ("what ought to be") can be put to existing U.S. immigration laws. For example, one law provides that any person who willfully or knowingly conceals, harbors, or shields from detection in any place, including any building or any means of transportation, or who encourages, or induces, or attempts to encourage or induce, either directly or indirectly, the entry into the United States of any alien shall be guilty of a felony. Upon conviction he shall be punished by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars or by imprisonment for each alien in respect to whom the violation occurs, provided, however, that for the purposes of this section, employment, including the usual and normal practices incident to employment, shall not be deemed to constitute harboring. What about the nation-state's ethics in



THE BORDER EAST OF CALEXICO

Harry Polkinhorn Photo

that law?

Another question can be put regarding the second category (the "what is"). It concerns what is called the Inter-Agency Compliance Effort, established by the Internal Revenue Service and the Immigration and Naturalization Service. This consists in withholding a certain amount of money found in the possession of an undocumented immigrant who is apprehended by the I.N.S. The assumption is that the money was earned in the United States and that the undocumented immigrant has not paid his income taxes. What about the nation-state's ethics in this practice?

I prefer to focus on the ethical aspects of the "what is" in undocumented immigration, rather than on the "ought to

be." I distinguish between the ethics involved in U.S. law as an expression of sovereignty, on the one hand, and the process of creating that law, on the other. It is the latter that I am interested in questioning, and I would like to think that the expression of my views is in keeping with the democratic decision-making process. My views reflect an interest in the welfare of my countrymen.

I suggest two ethical questions at the nation-state level for discussion. First, since high U.S. officials recognize that the assessment of the volume and impact of undocumented immigration to the United States has taken place in a factual vacuum, what are the ethical implications of proposing immigration laws under those circumstances?

## California's Hispanic Community

By Bruce Sievers  
Executive Director, CCH

The Hispanic culture occupies an ancient and integral place in the history of California. The topic of this issue of *Network*—values and issues affecting the Hispanic community in California—suggests a subject, therefore, which not only raises vitally important contemporary policy questions but which also turns our inquiry back toward the roots of California history.

It is a commonplace observation that the traditional flow of peoples along the coastal areas of North and Central America was interrupted in a rather artificial way by the imposition of the border between the United States and Mexico in 1848. Since that time, successive waves of immigration from Mexico and other parts of the Spanish-speaking world have kept alive and continually renewed the vitality of Hispanic culture in California.

Policy issues which therefore seem modern, such as policies on immigration and bilingual and bicultural education, are really not very new. What is new is the growing awareness on the part of all Californians of the importance—in sheer numbers and in social, political, cultural, and economic spheres—of the Hispanic community to the life of the state.

The census year seemed a good occasion to bring to the attention of our readers the particular concerns and interests of the Hispanic community. It is well known that the Hispanic population is the largest single ethnic minority group in California and is growing the most rapidly; the 1980 census is expected to document that this group now exceeds 20% of the total population.

Policy issues may therefore be expected to arise with ever-increasing urgency. What should national and state policy be regarding immigration from Mexico? Should a new work permit system be adopted? How can the educational needs of the Mexican-American student best be met? Should the primary goal of bilingual education be to prepare the Spanish speaking child for bilingual society?

Merely to pose these questions is to raise questions of history, fundamental values, cross-cultural differences, and future goals—concerns which lie at the

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# Problem Areas for the Chicano Community

## Pre-Schools

Sandra Serrano Sewell  
Director, Centro de Niños, Los Angeles

One main difference that arises within the traditional preschool as it affects the *Chicanito* is the philosophy of "first come, first served." This attitude of competitiveness that prevails in the teaching and learning process in the traditional preschool is in direct conflict with Chicano culture. Chicanos embrace the philosophy of family and community as a unit in their lives. This does not allow a person to think first of himself before another.

The *Chicanito* attending the traditional preschool becomes engulfed in the cultural values of the anglo society through the daily schedule of story time, rap time and play time.

Although this is not physically damaging to the *Chicanito*, the concepts that the child is learning at the traditional preschool conflict with what the child is learning, and most important, living, in the home.

Another factor of the *Chicanito* or any other minority child's participation in the traditional preschool is the "special child syndrome." The traditional preschool historically represents the minority child's existence in the classroom as a "special" event. Rather than encouraging a sharing of cultural values and activities, minority children find themselves set aside as "special," and always find the differences between them and the other students being pointed out. It becomes a question of cultural differ-

ences rather than a cultural enhancement and exchange for all the children.

The ties between traditional preschools and the bilingual preschools are non-existent in terms of the cultural, individual and social development, and value structure for the *Chicanito*.

The burden becomes that of the community to develop a bilingual program that encompasses fairness for all children's character, cultural, and social growth...

## News Coverage

Dr. Francisco Vasquez  
Philosophy Department  
Claremont College

...Much reporting on Chicanos is based on the reporter's preconceptions. For instance, a *Time* magazine reporter riding through East Los Angeles in 1967 saw mostly "tawdry taco joints and rollicking cantinas," smelled "the reek of cheap wine (and)... the fumes of frying tortillas," heard "the machine gun patter of slang Spanish."

Of course, one of the main reasons for such biased and inaccurate reporting was the lack of Chicano reporters and editors in Anglo publications...By all available statistics, Chicanos make up less than one percent of the total number of reporters and editors on U.S. daily newspapers. Although many broadcasters and newspapers made attempts to hire Chicano reporters in the late 1960's and early 1970's this priority on minority hiring apparently did not continue once vague quotas were met.

When Dr. Feliz Gutierrez, professor of

journalism at California State University, Fullerton, and frequent writer and speaker on Latinos and the media, inquired about a job opening at a Los Angeles television station, the assistant to the news director replied: "We did have an opening for a Mexican American, but we already hired one."

Much of the news of the barrio is treated as "soft news" or feature stories with little impact beyond a "zoo appeal" that reveals the strange characteristics of the people in the barrio. Some Chicano reporters complain, moreover, that editors will not allow them to pursue penetrating stories that probe the complexities of Chicano issues.

There has been an increased visibility of Chicano characters in the 1970's, but these appearances are often stereotyped by social class. For example, Chicanos portrayed as dignified, admirable characters are most often those with middle class credentials such as teachers, police officers, social workers or other professionals. Lower class Chicanos, particularly young people, are commonly portrayed as unable to deal with their own problems (without assistance from Anglos), humorous characters, or members of the underworld...

The problems faced by the Chicano community are not likely to be resolved to a high degree of satisfaction since the Anglo media are primarily interested in attracting a non-Chicano audience. But some kind of improvement is necessary considering the fast growth of the Latino population...demographic factors indicate that as early as 1990, Latinos may be-

come the largest ethnic minority in the United States...(there is a) lack of adequate coverage of Chicano issues even when they affect the whole community.

For example, many important minority issues like the Bakke "reverse" discrimination cases or school desegregation are being covered only in Black vs. White terms. In Los Angeles, for example... many reporters neglect to mention in their desegregation stories that the largest single ethnic block in the Los Angeles City schools consists of Chicano students. Latino youngsters comprise approximately 45% of the enrollment in this year's kindergarten classes. The unique educational needs of these students, moreover, are not being addressed in the debate over school busing...

## Trial by Jury

Radio Series: Heritage California  
The Spanish-Speaking Citizen and Justice, Paulist Communications,  
Pacific Palisades

In the administration of justice in our society we are all guaranteed the right to be tried by a jury of our peers. The trial process can be a very frightful experience, especially if the person involved does not speak the language of the court and thus is unable to properly communicate their defense or understand the complicated legal process.

Mr. Actividad Chavira, an attorney in Orange County, believes that all of us, regardless of language, have the right not only to a trial by jury, but also the right to understand completely what is taking place.

# What Is And What Ought To Be

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For some time now, high U.S. officials have referred to an alleged thirteen-billion-dollar tax burden caused by undocumented immigrants. We now have data that indicate that those statements were a gross exaggeration. Contrary to a widespread belief, many undocumented immigrants do pay income and Social Security taxes. Even though these data require further confirmation, they show that important elements in the definition of the immigration situation are inaccurate. Still, proposed legislation is based on those inaccuracies.

Second, is it moral to have a double standard, one for the flow of revenues across the border, and another for the flow of people? Why is it that people generally see nothing wrong with the inflow of revenues across the border and just the opposite with the inflow of people? What are the ethics of exclusion when people are perceived as a deficit, and capital a benefit?

To the extent that the notion of a "safety valve" — i.e., out-migration in a time of unemployment — justifies a lack of policy by the Mexican government, it becomes an ethical question for that nation-state. The idea of a "safety valve"

applied to out-migration is immoral, particularly in the context of Mexico's increasingly skewed income distribution. It is not that, in itself, a nation-state's failure to provide for its people's needs is immoral. It becomes immoral, however, when the nation-state's limited resources favor a minority.

This is the case with those who benefit from irrigation and public works, for example; and it has been generally the case in the allocation of resources which favors the largest cities at the expense of the rural communities. This has not only been unfair to the rural sector, but it has also been directly associated with migration from rural to urban communities in Mexico. That certainly is an ethical responsibility of the Mexican nation-state.

Corruption is also an ethical responsibility of the nation-state. Not enough is known about the extent to which corruption of government officials is a push factor in out-migration. The frequent incidents on the Mexican border, involving immigrants and officials at federal, state, and local levels, suggest that corruption is indeed a push factor.

Another ethical question involving the Mexican nation-state is the little effort

exerted by the Mexican government to protect its citizens in the United States. Mexican citizens should recognize the courage and solidarity of U.S. Chicano organizations, which have been created to help Mexican immigrants. The very existence of these organizations suggests the extent to which the Mexican government is not assuming its moral and legal responsibilities.

A false association has been made in Mexico between government protection of Mexican migrants in the United States and the renewal of the *bracero* agreements which ended in 1964. The legal basis for protecting Mexican nationals exists independently of the *bracero* agreements. The former are found in the terms of the Vienna Conventions of consular functions and in Mexico-U.S. treaties which deal specifically with these functions. On the other hand, the history of the *bracero* agreements clearly indicates that the disadvantages of the *bracero* program for the workers were greater than its advantages. According to Ernesto Galarza and others, a *bracero* program would not be useful as a solution for the undocumented immigration question, for at least two reasons.

(1) It induces emigration from Mexico. In the past, those who were not able to be included in the *bracero* quotas, as determined by the United States, did not necessarily go home. They came to the United States as undocumented workers.

(2) It produces an oversupply of labor which conduces to the exploitation of workers, the exacerbation of ethnic prejudices, and discrimination.

Based on these studies, the need for a renewal of the *bracero* agreement is as valid an ethical question as is the need for a "safety valve."

Opposition to a new *bracero* program is not the same as being opposed to an international agreement. International agreements are the most rational way to solve international differences. What is needed is not a mechanism that proved to be inefficient except for U.S. growers, but rather a bilateral agreement to take concerted actions directed at the roots of a phenomenon which are located on both sides of the border. I have suggested elsewhere that other alternatives should be explored instead of looking only to the past for solutions.

The distinguishing feature of European immigration is the social mobility





"The people in this country have a right to understand the process that's being used to accuse them. People have a right to understand it so well that they know what nuances are being used, and because of those nuances they can more effectively defend themselves. Because of those nuances they can more effectively communicate with their attorneys and provide the basis for a reasonable defense or for a reasonable way of prosecuting. Now because those nuances can't get communicated as immediately as necessary, trial isn't going to be as just for them as it's going to be for somebody else."

Well, I know that at present, court interpreters are provided. Are they inadequate?

"I've been in court where court interpreters simply don't interpret. They don't even give a sense of what's going on many times. A Spanish-speaking person who's involved in the legal process is really just a pawn that's being pushed in one way or another, either by the judge or by his attorney or by the other attorney. There are some conscientious judges who, every so often, stop and say, 'Now did he understand that?' And then the court interpreter is forced to turn to the client or to the person that's involved and say, 'Did you understand that?' and if the person is not so overawed or scared nervous that that person can't speak, the person might turn around and say, 'No, I didn't understand that' and then the judge will order the interpreter to communicate the sense of it. It really is bad."

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has reported that court interpreters are often untrained and unqualified. In a court procedure that could drastically affect the life of a Spanish-speaking citizen and the welfare of that citizen's family, the right to qualified and professional interpretation is essential. Dr. Janet Barber, professor of Spanish at Immaculate Heart College in Los Angeles, believes that such interpretation can be provided

if we are really concerned about justice.

"Interpreters who have been trained in the really top-flight professional schools for interpreters can translate simultaneous and give the exact content of what's said, with a lot of the nuances that form a part of human speech. These interpreters are functioning all the time in the United Nations and in private international conferences on all kinds of topics. It just requires competent people and a minimal amount of electronic equipment, the kind that's in the language labs of practically every high school in the state. Why couldn't our courtrooms be equipped this way? I really think that we would have truer justice and in the long run, much less feeling of alienation on the part of minority peoples who presently despair of receiving a fair trial."

In addition to providing competent and professional translations, Mr. Chavida believes that in the interests of justice the jury must include people who are familiar with the culture of the defendant.

"If there's going to be real justice, the jury ought to be closely related to the situation that the defendant comes from, and I think that in the spirit of some of the laws that are being passed now, a law might be passed to say that a substantial number of the jurors should be familiar enough with Spanish-speaking culture to be able to render justice to the client."

## The Elderly

**Carmela G. LaCayo**  
Executive Director, *Asociacion Nacional Pro Personas Mayores*

...The relatively recent concern for the elderly populations, expressed by the mobilization of resources to deliver a variety of human services, has yet to reach our Spanish-speaking elderly community. The establishment of a chain of structures at the federal, state and local levels that act as vehicles to channel these services indeed could place the authority for planning and implementation closer to the

consumer of services; the requirement to institute advisory groups seemed to ensure local input.

However, most indicators point to the lack of significant participation of our Spanish-speaking elderly in all of these structures at all levels. The voice of the Spanish-speaking elderly is notoriously absent from the decision making, planning, implementation and evaluation processes. The absence of this population group from these significant levels of change indicates that such structure will remain traditional and dated.

Service delivery structures reflect cumulative culture patterns and knowledge, but what might work for one group may be alien for another. It seems obvious that the understanding of cultural differences must take place before significant and useful advances can occur in the development of human services for the Spanish-speaking elderly.

Research consumers must be made aware that research to date with respect to the Hispanic community is seriously defective both statistically and in its sociological interpretation. The gross undercount of Hispanics in the 1970 census has greatly restricted validity of local and regional surveys. Prevalent myths such as the extended family must be dispelled. The predisposition of researchers to interpret data through a value-laden system which has been inculcated by many years of exposure to faulty work must be rectified.

## Youth Gangs

**Dr. Richard Santillan**  
History Department  
University of California, Los Angeles

...Chicano gangs cannot be glorified nor can they be merely dismissed as being reactionary and anti-political. Chicano gangs, like the Chicano/Latino population, are not a homogeneous group, but rather heterogeneous. From experience and interviews, we know that the political consciousness of gang members ranges

from conservative to progressive.

During the Chicano movement of the 1960's and early 1970's, some gang members were found on the side of law enforcement, while others joined the Brown Berets, La Junta, La Raza Unida Party, MECHA, and LUCHA. These organizations served as a political vehicle for many gang members, expressing their frustrations at being isolated from society. Many gang members realized the injustices but were not able to articulate them nor direct their energies in a positive and constructive manner.

Chicano gangs are not a product of Chicano culture, lack of assimilation, nor the result of their environment. Chicano gangs are a result of a society which is politically, economically and socially unequal. Chicano political organizers, scholars, and gang workers cannot ignore the objective reality that the inherent contradictions of an unplanned economy result in economic stagnation which has immediate and far reaching implications for the barrio including inflation, unemployment, deportations, drug abuse, inadequate housing, lack of education and health facilities, and alienated Chicano youth. These deplorable conditions are the manifestations of an economic system which places priority on profit rather than on the social and economic needs of the poor.

...Chicanos and other poor people will not be able to eliminate the conditions which create gangs unless they can achieve true political and economic self-determination. However, within the present system this is impossible. This does not negate the fact that Chicanos should continue to demand youth programs, recreational facilities, gang workers, drug abuse programs and other programs to work with the hard-core youth. But these programs cannot be seen as ends, but rather as means in demanding the restructuring of our social institutions in which the distribution of power and wealth is shared by everyone.

of the immigrants. The Irish came; they were able to move up. The Germans came; they were able to move up. This is what made social mobility not a dream but a reality in the United States. But we have to be careful when we talk about the United States as an open society. There were constraints. The open-society concept cannot be applied to the Asian immigrants on the West Coast. Cheap labor was imported from China, but, in contrast with the Irish, the Chinese were not allowed to move upward socially. They were excluded from the American society, and that was one of the reasons for the first immigration laws in this country.

After the First World War, you had an unemployment situation in which the first evidences of scape-goating appeared. Mexican immigration was closely related to the unemployment problem in the United States. In the Depression of the nineteen-thirties, unemployment was again closely related to Mexican immigration. This happened again in the nineteen-fifties, after the end of the Korean war. U.S. unemployment led to a campaign against Mexican immigration, which led to "operation wetback" in 1954.

The important thing is how little we learn from history about the visibility of the immigration question in the United States. Why was it visible in the nineteen-thirties? Why was it visible in the nineteen-fifties? Why is it visible today?

But history never repeats itself exactly. The United States is not the same today as it was in 1910, or 1930, or 1950. Mexico is not the same. Ethnic relations in the United States are not the same, particularly at the border.

The question is not whether the United States should exclude, or include, or how many should be allowed to come in. The question is, what is the relationship between immigration and the rest of the U.S. interests in Mexico in many areas? It is not just interests that can be quantified that are important. It is also interests that can never be separated, like the symbiotic nature of the U.S. — Mexico border zone. The borderland — in social, not political, terms — is not Mexico, it is not the United States. It is a borderland with cultural, social, and economic characteristics. Reality is not limited to the border. That is a legalistic concept. The reality of the border permeates both sides of the border.

## California's Hispanic Community

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heart of the several disciplines of the humanities. During the past several years the CCH has sponsored many projects in which humanists have had the opportunity to examine these questions from their disciplinary perspectives and from the perspectives of advocates and critics of the various positions. Particularly good examples of these are contained in this issue's articles by Jorge Bustamante, Richard Santillan, Garrett Hardin and others.

One theme in the articles strikes even closer to home. The case for cultural pluralism and the prospect of diversity of historical and intellectual tradition raises in another form a frequently-heard question about the comprehensive definitions of the "humanities." While the CCH adopts the Congressionally specified list of academic disciplines on legal and practical grounds, we remain aware that the humanities encompass broad fields of human endeavor and study which probably resemble more Wittgenstein's notion of "family" — a group, all of whose members overlap but whose extremes are totally diverse — rather than a cleanly de-

fined set of entities. Nevertheless, a most common characteristic, if there is one, of these diverse fields, might be said to be a systematic approach to the study of the human condition.

This unsettled question of conceptual definitions reflects a larger issue of what is apparently an eternal tension between cultural distinctiveness and cultural universality, between the goals of identity and community. The examination of this tension and approaches to its resolution have been the aims of the past Council theme, "The Pursuit of Community in California."

Not unexpectedly, the dilemma is most aptly stated by Octavio Paz in the passage from *Labyrinths of Solitude* from which our opening aphorism was taken: "Solitude and communion, individuality and universality are still the extremes that devour every Mexican. This conflict characterizes our most intimate selves and gives a special color — alternately dark and bright — to our private conduct and our relationships with others; at the same time it has a profound effect on all our political, social and artistic efforts..."



## Grants Awarded Innovative Projects

### DIALOGUES WITH WESTERN WOMEN WRITERS, 1980

Sponsor: Center for Research on Women, Stanford University

This project will explore how literature and public issues complement each other. Eight contemporary women writers from the American West and Hawaii will be brought to the Stanford campus for a series of eight dialogue sessions conducted in public. The other half of the dialogue will be maintained by Stanford faculty members from the humanities, especially literature, languages, religious studies and political science. They will help to focus the discussions on the relation of literature to public policy issues, exploring how the women's writings have been affected by public issues and the trends of their times, and how the authors believe their writing can influence public policy decisions.

The dialogues will be recorded and published along with photographic portraits of the writers.

### THE ART OF LIVING

Sponsor: KQED, Inc., San Francisco

An earlier CCH project, sponsored by the Far West Institute of San Francisco, presented a series of lectures for the public on "The Art of Living in the Cultural Revolution." These talks brought together outstanding speakers from the humanities with others in the sciences

and the arts to discuss how to live according to authentic human values in a world more and more dominated by technological change. The disciplines of the speakers range from physics through cultural anthropology and literary criticism to religion and philosophy.

The current project will edit videotapes of these sessions into a public television series, emphasizing the interactive portions with the audience.

### THE HANDICAPPED: VOICES & ISSUES

Sponsor: Saddleback Community College District, Mission Viejo

A traveling community program is designed to help citizens identify, experience, and discuss issues and problems which affect the handicapped. Oral histories from handicapped people and biographical selections from literature, as well as some of their own experiences, will be shared by handicapped presenters, and small group discussions will be led by scholars, some of whom are also handicapped. The format is designed to address a persistent problem for the handicapped: society's reluctance to confront them in person.

Discussions will explore social attitudes which compound physical problems, and analyze the moral and philosophical implications of currently proposed policy alternatives. The program will be recorded on tape for public radio broadcast.

## Local & Cultural History/Planning

### SANTA BARBARA HERITAGE WORKSHOP

Sponsor: Institute for American Research, Goleta

The Heritage Workshop is designed to provide residents of the greater Santa Barbara area with the opportunity to become actively involved in discovering and communicating their community's history — to become "citizen historians." Groups of 10-25 local residents will be enrolled in "sessions", each to be devoted to a single historical topic and to involve a number of group meetings and related activities, culminating in an exhibit or presentation for the public. Scholars and other professionals will train the members of the local community in the skills necessary to conduct historical inquiry and to prepare a public presentation, and will work with them in choosing their topic, researching it, and selecting appropriate media for disseminating it. Greater public response to historical exhibits is anticipated as a result of the workshops.

### A SPECTRUM OF NEIGHBORHOOD IMAGES IN "OLDE" STOCKTON

Sponsors: California State College, Stanislaus, Stockton Campus; Community Forum, Inc., of San Joaquin County; Project Gemini, Inc., Stockton

A slide/tape presentation and a guide booklet will be prepared and will graphically illustrate changing neighborhoods and vignettes of diverse lifestyles in central Stockton from 1850 to the present. Old and current photographs, music and literature, and narration by selected resource people will be used to portray a

spectrum of views about the evolution and meaning of the changes. Intermittent meetings of working teams will be supplemented by two meetings for the public as information for the audiovisual materials is developed.

### TORRANCE, THE GREAT BALANCING ACT

Sponsor: Torrance Historical Society

The city of Torrance, one of the first "planned communities" on the West Coast, will be the subject of a half-hour film combining old and new footage and following the history of the community from the early 1900's. Planned and built on 3,500 vacant acres bought for the purpose, Torrance (named after its founder) was designed as a "garden-industrial city" with balanced residential, commercial, and industrial development, separated from each other to make "a good place to work and a good place to live."

This plan has been pursued through extensive annexations, an oil boom in 1920's, the depression, the post-war growth in population and housing, and the commercial and industrial expansion of the sixties and seventies. From its beginning of 500 residents, Torrance has grown to the fourth largest city in Los Angeles County. Scholars in history, philosophy, and sociology will join with city officials and long-time residents in researching and collecting significant photographs and creating a preliminary slide presentation as an introduction to the project.

## Public Policy

### CHARTER REVISION—A SLIDE PRESENTATION

Sponsor: San Francisco Charter Commission

A 10 to 15-minute slide-tape presentation will be developed to explain the process of charter revision to citizens and students in connection with the drafting of a new charter for the City and County of San Francisco. The completed revision will be submitted to the voters on the November ballot.

Scholars in history, literature and political theory will address such issues as the role of public participation in local government, developing a collective bargaining process compatible with a personnel merit system, separating powers between the executive and legislative arms of the government, and creating a structure capable of governing a city in a post-Proposition 13 environment. A brochure which will include a mail-back questionnaire will allow written feedback from audiences, in addition to discussion sessions following the slide presentations at public hearings and other meetings. More than 150 presentations are planned.

### HUMANITIES/COMMUNITY SERVICE CHANNEL DEMONSTRATION PROJECT, PLANNING PHASE

Sponsor: Foundation for Community Service Channels

The recently-created Foundation for Community Service Channels plans to obtain satellite time during the fall of 1980 for a demonstration project of model alternative community service channel programming on cable television. The current grant will support the involvement of scholars in the humanities, citizen and government representatives, and broadcast industry professionals in an investigation of financial and technical aspects of community service cable channels for the public, as well as potentials for programming.

### MANAGEMENT OF SEA OTTERS AND SHELLFISH FISHERIES IN CALIFORNIA, POLICY ISSUES AND MANAGEMENT ALTERNATIVES

Sponsor: Marine Policy Program, Marine Science Institute, UC Santa Barbara

A regional forum is planned to explore the divergences in point of view among various groups, and seek the public interest, in the controversy involving sea otters and abalone along the central California coast. Once harvested for their pelts, sea otters became an endangered and hence protected species. In recent years their numbers have increased to the point where their foraging for food threatens a number of recreational and commercial fisheries: abalone, pismo clam, sea urchin, red and rock crabs, and potentially Dungeness crab and spiny lobster.

A two-day meeting will bring together humanists, social and natural scientists, government agency personnel, representatives of commercial and conservationist groups, and the general public to discuss how to achieve an equitable balance among opposing uses of the coastal waters and different views regarding

management of coastal resources. Involved are such questions as the right of animal species vs. human life style and right to livelihood, and the extent to which government should intercede in such determinations. Other topics will be technical matters of coordination of management at different levels of government and policies to encourage public involvement in these decisions.

### CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE CALIFORNIA CONSTITUTION: PHASE II

Sponsor: San Diego State Foundation for KPBS-TV

The second phase of an earlier research and scripting grant, this one-hour television program will focus on the meaning of the California State Constitution for individual rights in the areas of employment, education, and criminal justice procedures. Recently adopted and currently proposed constitutional amendments affecting civil rights, and supporters and critics of these measures and of California's "activist" State Supreme Court, will be presented in a historical perspective.

### TODAY'S FAMILIES FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE HUMANITIES

Sponsor: Family Service Association of America, San Francisco

A one-day seminar will be open to the public but planned specifically for delegates to the Western Regional White House Conference on Families and the California State Conference on Families. Scholars from the disciplines of history, philosophy, anthropology and literature will make presentations on the following questions centered around the relationship of the family to the state in current American society: (1) What should be the role of the state in family life? (2) What should be the role of the family in relation to the state? (3) Who should speak for the family? (4) What should be the responsibilities of family members to each other? Reaction and discussion by participants will follow each presentation.

### CALIFORNIA LAW SCHOOLS IN THE 1980S

Sponsor: Film Arts Foundation

A one-hour videotape for broadcasting on public television will inquire into the premises, values, structures and methodology of the institutions that educate lawyers who then often become powerful policy-makers as judges, legislators and high-level administrators. Professors of History, Economics, Political Science, Anthropology, Philosophy and Education as well as many professors in schools of law throughout California, and many leading policy makers, will be interviewed for their comments on the following questions: (1) How effectively does current legal education respond to changing social conditions? (2) Toward what communities is the delivery of legal services directed? (3) What are the values and assumptions of current legal education? (4) In consideration of changing social needs, what should be the goals of a legal education?



## Council Members Honored



David Crippens



Thomas Sanchez

David Crippens, Vice-President for Educational Services of public TV station KCET in Los Angeles and a member of the Humanities Council since 1978, has recently been appointed Station Manager. His department is responsible for instructional and educational programming at all levels, especially new and non-traditional educational ventures and utilization of prime time materials. In his capacity as Station Manager he focuses on service to the local community and supervises local programming ventures and expansion.

Named a Guggenheim Fellow for a year of independent research and writing is Thomas Sanchez, Council member since 1979, the only California novelist on this year's Guggenheim list. Sanchez received special mention in the announcement as one of the country's outstanding young prose writers. His second novel, *Zoot Suit Murders*, published last year by E.B. Dutton, Inc., is being brought out in paperback by Pocket Books of New York.



Logo of the Association of Southwestern Humanities Councils

## Staff Changes



Katherine Kobayashi

Katherine Kobayashi, who will receive her Ph.D in history from the Johns Hopkins University later this year, has accepted the position of Program Officer in the Council's recently opened Los Angeles office.

Ms. Kobayashi is a summa cum laude graduate of Rice University, Houston, Texas, with a double major in history and sociology. She has won a number of scholarships and prizes, is a member of Phi Beta Kappa and was listed in Who's Who in American Colleges and Universities. For the past two years she has been an Acting Assistant Professor in the Department of History at the University of California at Riverside, where she also served on the Graduate Studies Committee and the Committee on the Program in Historic Resources Management.

As a Thomas J. Watson Fellow she

conducted independent research in Britain and East Africa studying the teaching of history in secondary schools. This summer she will rejoin the Watson Fellowship program as a panel member and discussion leader in orientation sessions in Maine for new fellows.

Ms. Kobayashi's field of specialization is American social and cultural history with emphasis on Colonial and Revolutionary American, history of the family, history of education and anthropological approaches to history.

Dr. Bruce Sievers, CCH Executive Director, will be on sabbatical during the months of June and July. He will be working on a writing project relating public opinion and democratic theory, and will attend a Summer Institute at Aspen. Assuming his duties will be Dr. Karen Bowden, Executive Director of the Maine Council for Humanities and Public Policy. Dr. Bowden holds a Ph.D. degree in classics from the University of California at Berkeley.

Dr. Ann Pescatello of Berkeley, Special Projects Officer in charge of the Humanists-in-the-Schools Program, is serving as Acting Assistant Director in the San Francisco Office for the month of June.

In the Council's San Francisco office, Teri Peterson is now serving as Administrative Secretary. She received a B.A. in Humanities, summa cum laude, from San Francisco State University where she worked part time in the Departments of Humanities, Classics, and Auxiliary Accounting. She has traveled extensively

## Four-State Humanities Association

La Asociación de Consejos de Humanidades del Suroeste fue creada por un periodo de dos años, por el Fondo Nacional de las Humanidades, una agencia federal, con la función de extender el servicio de los Consejos de Humanidades Estatales y el Fondo Nacional de las Humanidades, a la población hispana en los estados de Arizona, California, Nuevo México y Texas.

El Fondo Nacional de las Humanidades (FNH) y los Consejos de Humanidades Estatales financian programas públicos de contenido humanístico. Las humanidades son las disciplinas académicas que están tradicionalmente ligadas a conceptos, valores e ideas, como los estudios de historia, literatura, ética, lingüística, idiomas, jurisprudencia, arqueología, la crítica de las artes, religión comparativa y los aspectos de las ciencias sociales que emplean una modalidad filosófica o histórica en vez de cuantitativas. Las humanidades como disciplinas de estudios no deben de ser confundidas con el humanismo, como una filosofía de la vida o el humanitarismo como un movimiento social.

La Asociación de Consejos de humanidades del Suroeste (ACHS) se propone cumplir sus objetivos empezando con un programa educativo de énfasis especial sobre el significado de las humanidades para los hispanos. También estimulará la formulación de solicitudes hacia los Consejos Estatales y el Fondo Nacional de las Humanidades para proyectos relevantes al pueblo hispano.

Todas las solicitudes hispanas formuladas como resultado de los esfuerzos de la ACHS, serán consideradas durante las juntas de revisión cíclicas del Fondo Nacional y los Consejos Estatales, que se llevan a cabo cada tres meses. Entretanto, la ACHS espera que las solicitudes relacionadas a los hispanos sometidos para la consideración del Fondo Nacional o los Consejos Estatales, sean sumamente competitivas debido a los esfuerzos de la ACHS.

### La Estructura

Una serie de conferencias y talleres organizados por la ACHS tomarán lugar en los estados de Arizona, California, Nuevo México y Texas utilizando consul-

For information, write or phone Dr. F. Arturo Rosales, Executive Director, ASHC 112 N. Central Avenue, Suite 308, Phoenix, AZ 85004. 602/258-8413

## Radio Programs

Two public service radio ventures utilizing Humanities Council materials will be available soon on both public and commercial stations throughout the state. Three Public Service Announcements created by the Public Media Center in San Francisco will briefly describe three Council-funded projects and invite listeners to send for information to develop projects around their own organization's in Europe and Africa, speaks Greek and French, and won a Bank of America Achievement Award in Art for pen and ink drawing. She is a member of the California Scholarship Foundation and the Pan-Cretan Association.

Ms. Peterson replaces Christina Herrick who is now working exclusively on the financial aspects of grant administration.

tantes humanistas y encargados del FNH y Consejos Estatales. Serán invitadas las organizaciones e individuos interesados en recaudar fondos para proyectos humanísticos. Las conferencias proporcionarán para un público general, informaciones sobre el significado de las humanidades y demostrarán que programas humanísticos son importantes y posibles para todos los niveles de la comunidad hispana. Las conferencias tendrán el propósito de estimular ideas y diálogos entre los participantes para que así lleguen a desarrollar un interés y escribir solicitudes para obtener fondos. Los talleres tomarán lugar después de las conferencias y serán más específicos para los individuos y organizaciones que estén interesados en proyectos humanísticos. Todos los interesados en las fechas y lugares de las conferencias y talleres deben ponerse en contacto con la oficina de la Asociación en Phoenix, Arizona.

### Proyectos Interestatales

Los proyectos humanísticos que estén dedicados a la población hispana del suroeste, se considerarán conjuntamente por los cuatro Consejos Estatales. Ese tipo de financiamiento otorgado por los cuatro Consejos en Arizona, California, Nuevo México y Texas (o alguna combinación de dos o tres estados) llevará a cabo programas que de otro modo no sería posible dentro de las capacidades de los estados individuales. La Asociación está particularmente interesada en proyectos relacionados con la problemática de la frontera y que sean importantes para México y Estados Unidos. El propósito de la ACHS será de coordinar y facilitar el proceso de solicitudes para los individuos y organizaciones interesadas.

### Asistencia Individual

Según nuestros planes, se le dará prioridad al proceso educativo general y a la coordinación de proyectos interestatales. Además, al Asociación también podrá ayudar a los que requieran informes o apoyo individual en la obtención de fondos para proyectos humanísticos. Los que deseen más informaciones, ponganse en contacto con nuestra oficina situada en Phoenix, Arizona.

For information, write or phone Dr. F. Arturo Rosales, Executive Director, ASHC 112 N. Central Avenue, Suite 308, Phoenix, AZ 85004. 602/258-8413

policy concerns.

Beginning in August, a 26-week series of half-hour programs entitled, "California Times" and produced by Cynthia Perry of Station KUIC in Vacaville, will summarize one project each week, using narrative, dialogue and interviews. The series is tentatively scheduled for all public radio stations and several commercial outlets in each major listening area. The following stations have currently contracted for the service: Los Angeles: KRTH, KWST; San Diego: KOGO, KCBQ; San Francisco: KABL-AM and FM; San Jose: KBAY; Sacramento: KAER, KFDK, KXOA; Stockton: KJOY, KJAX; Fresno: KFYE KYNO-AM and FM; Gilroy: KFAT; Bakersfield: KNTB; Vacaville: KUIC; Eureka: KPDJ, KRGD; Pasadena: KRLA; Brawley: KROP.



# A Spanish-Speaking California by the Year 2000

"We didn't ask the Anglos to come in here a hundred and thirty years ago. They came by force. The future is ours. It has to be."

"We could conceivably be in control of this state by the year 2000 or shortly thereafter."

"It's almost like the past coming back to haunt the United States."

Chicanos—those of Spanish ancestry, either native-born or immigrated from Mexico, Central or South America. And in one part of the United States, the Southwest, a steadily growing part of the population.

In many places around the world, the influence of two strong cultures or two languages within one country is a reality which cannot be ignored. In Europe, many countries have had to deal dramatically with a bicultural or bilingual situation. In Switzerland, for example, a country viewed by many as a model of democracy, a recent election created a new state to insure the cultural identities of French and German-speaking citizens. In Belgium, in October of 1978, the government of Prime Minister Leo Tinderman resigned for the second time in four months and an interim government was set up as a result of years of problems stemming from language differences between Dutch and French-speaking Belgians.

Closer to the United States, in November of 1976, the Canadian province of Quebec elected a government that promised separation from the rest of Canada. The differences between French and English-speaking Canadians were a crucial element of this separatist movement. Over the past few years, there has been a steady rise of cultural nationalism around the world. It has led to separatist movements in other countries as well, Scotland, Wales and Spain, for example.

Here in the United States, cultural nationalism used to take a back seat to the American Melting Pot. Ethnic groups were under great pressure to assimilate, become Americans, or hyphenated-Americans. But that Melting Pot has been put on the back burner, and some groups are striving to maintain their ethnic identity both in culture and in language. This program brings the thoughts and ideas of many people who live in bicultural and bilingual societies in Europe, Canada, and our own country to help us understand our changing population, especially that in California and the Southwest, a part of our country rich with Spanish names, the influence of Spanish and Mexican culture.

Originally, the land was part of Mexico. It was conquered in 1848. But now, as we look toward the twenty-first century, there looms the possibility of a reconquest—the retaking of California by the Chicanos. Population projections for the year 2000 show the very real potential for a Hispanic majority in the state. How that reconquest will express

itself is open to speculation at this point, but there are large numbers of Hispanic people who feel that California must make drastic shifts to accommodate the eventual transfer of power.

As California moves toward its destiny of becoming America's first third world state, it becomes important to understand the history of the area, how it shaped the present, and how it will influence the future.

The original treaty between the United States and Mexico, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848, incorporated the treaty with France of 1803. That incorporation meant that the language and culture of the people taken over, the inhabitants of the territories taken over, would be respected on equal terms with the English language culture.

And at first they were respected. One year after the war with Mexico had ended, California held a convention to adopt a new set of laws for the territory. The result of that convention was a constitution for California, a constitution in two languages, Spanish and English. It guaranteed language rights for Mexicans; it insured that all laws would be passed, printed and enforced in both languages. And it promised the vote to Mexicans. It was a constitution that would be massively violated.

By 1865, only six years later, the California legislature was passing laws which openly discriminated against the Mexican population. It was refusing to print laws in Spanish and during legislative debate, Mexicans were referred to as "greasers." The discrimination continued virtually unchecked, according to Professor Richard Santillan of California State University at Los Angeles.

"The California ballot was changed from Spanish to English in 1894 in order to prevent Mexican-Americans from voting, and also—we sometimes hear about the Ku Klux Klan and the Texas Rangers—but there were also vigilante groups here in California for many, many years who terrorized and who deterred Chicanos from achieving political power."

How had it all changed so quickly? Basically, the tremendous wave of Anglo immigration brought on by the Gold Rush in a few short years virtually wiped out the Mexican political elite and made second-class citizens of the rest of the native population.

"It's been traditional, at least in a historic sense in California, that the Chicano lived on the other side of the tracks. In practically every town in California in years past, particularly when railroads were important, one side was the American side, and one side was the Mexican side."

That Mexican side was called the *barrio*. It was a neighborhood where the newly arrived immigrants could feel at home, where their language and culture were honored by other Mexican families who had come to the United States earlier. Today those *barrios* are in trou-

ble, one of the victims of the twentieth century. Professor Ernesto Galarza explains:

"Freeways running east and west, north and south, have created a sort of grid of communications by automobile, and in this grid the Mexican *barrio* has in many instances fallen by the way. There were *barrios* in the twenties and thirties that are no longer there—wiped out."

The destruction of the *barrios* meant that the Mexican population could no longer remain homogeneous.

"My father was born in Mexico, so the culture that I grew up in as a youngster was a *Mexicano* culture, and of course my first language was Spanish in the home. But as soon as I got into school, and this happened with my brothers and my sister also, we had to learn English and as we went through we were bilingual; we went to school with few but some Anglos, so there was a mix."

That mix created a new identity, according to United States Attorney Herman Sillias:

"There is developing a third personality, a separate, distinct, culture, a personality that is a combination of the two cultures, and it's emerging as a one-type personality. I think as we start to have entry into the field of politics, it's a new personality that is entering politics; he's entering not as a Mexican, not as an Anglo, but as a Chicano. In the field of employment, the same thing. In the field of education, the same thing. So you have, by the combination of the two cultures, a distinct, separate personality."

Mario Obledo is California's Secretary of Health and Welfare. He is the highest ranking Chicano in the state government. Obledo says that the development of a distinct Chicano identity coupled with an ever-increasing population has some people very concerned.

"Recently, Mr. William Colby, the ex-Director of the CIA, was interviewed and he was asked the question, 'What do you consider the greatest threat to America?' His response was that the most immediate threat to the United States was the fact that there are 60 million Mexicans today and will be 120 million of them by the turn of the century. I interpret that remark to mean that Mr. Colby has recognized the tremendous political force that this group could develop, and in fact could take over, if you will, the institutions of the Southwest."

"There are a lot of people that I come in contact with who are terrified that they live so close to the border, and they speak of hordes of groups coming in; they speak of greater law enforcement at the border to stop the Mexicans from crossing the border; that certainly attracted a lot of attention, but not much sympathy."

That fear has led to a call for a tighter immigration policy, a policy that would add more muscle to the fight against illegal immigrants. But Spanish-language

newspaper editor Herman Baca thinks that policy would be unenforceable.

"Trying to stop the migration of people either from here or from there is like attempting to stop the Rio Grande from crossing from the United States into Mexico. It's unnatural."

"I came here to make money in the United States, to pay my debts and to pay the taxes, the property taxes in my country, to own a house. I had three years that I had not paid taxes because I did not have enough. If I could not come to the United States that year, I had to sell my house and start paying rent with all my family. I did not have anything but debts and sickness in my family. I had to borrow money. So, I decided to come."

"As a kid I remember living about 15 miles from the Rio Grande down in southern Texas, and at three o'clock in the morning there'd be a knock on the door, very light. They'd send one—usually the youngest kid—the others would hide in the bushes, sometimes seven of them, and they'd come to the door—'Senora, could you give us something to eat?' My mother would immediately call my dad, and he'd get up and say, 'How many are there?' Always we'd turn off the lights. Then my dad would go out to the bushes and he'd come back and tell my mom, 'There are ten out there.' My mom would get up, and she knew how much to cook."

Why do they keep coming? What drives a man to risk his life swimming across a river or hiding in the engine compartment of a car? It is economics: the knowledge that salaries here are astronomical compared to what one can earn at home. Whenever you have a vast economic disparity between two adjoining nations, you'll have people in the poorer country trying desperately to work in the richer nation. In Europe, Switzerland became alarmed when it realized that 20% of its population was immigrant Italian and Yugoslav workers. Dr. Max Frankel is a policy analyst for the Swiss government:

"All of a sudden there was a quite widely spread popular resentment against the amount of foreigners here in Switzerland. There was a popular initiative to expel most of these foreigners from Switzerland. There was a very heatedly fought campaign on it a couple of years ago, and it was by a rather narrow margin that the initiative was defeated. This served as a clear signal to our authorities that really one should look at the thing, so the government started to curb the amount of foreigners able to come into Switzerland, and steadily the number has fallen."

Back here in the United States, Chicano political groups are lobbying in support of amnesty for the illegal or undocumented workers. Eduardo Sandoval is president of the Mexican-American Political Association:

"MAPA has a very strong position on the undocumented. We're calling for a general amnesty for all who are here without documents so that they can stay and adjust their status to that of permanent





resident. The whole eventual solution to the undocumented issue cannot be resolved effectively without Chicano leaders and Chicano organizations coordinating their political program with Mexico, because Mexico now has the oil."

That discovery of an estimated 300 billion barrels of oil could have a dramatic effect on current immigration patterns. If the Mexican government uses the money from its oil reserves to create new industries and more jobs for its citizens, the Mexican would have no need to pack up and move north. But Esther Estrada of the Mexican-American Legal Defense & Education Fund isn't convinced that that will happen.

"It is presumptuous of us to assume that because Mexico may become the leader in oil world-wide, that there is going to be a rippling effect of benefits to the Mexican-American or to the Mexican documented or undocumented worker in this country. That whole policy still has to be developed by the Mexican government, and we are very anxious to see what that policy is going to be and what role, if any, we are going to play."

But the question of future immigration patterns ignores the reality of the present, and that reality is that millions of Mexicans already live here in the United States. For many of them, the cultural differences make adjustment difficult, but for those who don't speak English the American dream can become a nightmare.

"There are a lot of television shops, automobile dealers, furniture stores that rely very heavily on Spanish-language advertising to get the customer in. Once they get in, they have Spanish-speaking salesmen to make the sales pitch, tell them all about the terms of the contract, but when they're escorted into the Credit Office they sign an English-language contract, and many times the things that were promised to them by the salesman in Spanish are not in the contract, but there are things that were not even considered by the customer, such as interest rates, balloon payments, things like that."

"I was an attorney directing a large legal services program. We brought lawsuits against the telephone company that didn't feel it had the duty to provide services for anybody who didn't speak English. We brought lawsuits against government agencies and private employers who didn't feel they had a duty to hire anybody who wasn't English-speaking or who didn't look the way they looked. It goes through the whole fabric of American life."

"Many of our young Chicanas have gone into a general hospital, and because there wasn't a cultural awareness or proper staffing to have communicated to these women, they weren't even told that they were being sterilized. They were drugged when it happened and they were not altogether aware of what was happening to them, and it was not until afterwards when they were back in their hospital room that they were informed that they could no longer produce children. For them not to have had the right to make that choice to me is inhumane—is obscene."

"These people are losing a valuable

right by not having access—my calling a fire department at three o'clock in the morning and not getting through to a fire dispatcher that speaks my language can make the difference between life and death."

For a non-English-speaking adult in the United States it could mean life or death. But for a child, the difficulties of entering this foreign culture are more subtle. It can be psychologically harmful, according to Raul Arriola of the Los Angeles School District.

"The moment that a young Mexican goes into school he goes into what we call a transition program—they try to change him. He comes from his home with the Spanish language, Hispanic background and culture; then he goes to school and they try to make an American out of him. They want to change his language right away; they change his name from Juan to John; they try to change his culture and his values to the point where somewhere along the implication comes out that what he brings to school is unworthy."

United States Attorney, Herman Sillias: "I have a vivid experience of going to school as a Spanish-speaking kid, having learned some English, but of being in class on a day that the teacher indicated we're going to take the letter 'c,' and you're to stand up and give me a word that begins with that letter. I guess this was maybe the first grade, and she started around the room and the children would stand up and say, 'cookie,' 'chicken,' and I stood up when my turn came and I said '*chancho*' which is a Spanish word for slipper. She said, 'What is it?' and I said, 'Well, you know, it's what your mother wears around the house on her feet in the morning,' and she said 'You mean a slipper.' Well, of course, I didn't know what a slipper was, and I said, 'No, *chancho*!'"

"Of course by this time the class was laughing; she's asking me how to spell it and of course I didn't know how to spell it; I knew it sounded like the letter 'c.' She had me stand there and said to me, 'There is no such word; give me another word.'

"I think every Mexican kid faces the day of the *chancho* at some point in his life and he has to make a decision. The decision is, do I hang on to the *chancho* or do I try to find out what a slipper is and go home and from that day on call it a slipper — that's the confrontation, the question, the day of truth they have to face, and that decision, that moment, can come when you're in the fourth grade or when you're 15 or when you're 35 or 50."

Since 1968 the federal government has funded bilingual education programs which formally recognize the existence of non-English mother tongues and encourage their use in the instruction of pupils from different backgrounds.

Professor Ernesto Galarza: "Bilingual education can be very useful in giving children who are born into a Mexican family a degree of competence in Spanish which they should have since, really, it's an advantage to be bilingual. Such children would also undoubtedly benefit from the psychological identity with their

families. There is no doubt that in the first generation the child is being exposed to so many influences that his parents are not, and becomes much more rapidly bilingual or Americanized than his parents. That drives a wedge between him and the older generation.

But the question must be asked, "Is the bilingual education program working? Is it worth the 400 million dollar price tag?" Chicanos in California have the highest dropout rate of any group in the school system. Those who complete high school have the lowest rate of college entrance. This has led critics to conclude that any attempt to make people literate in both languages ends up having them illiterate in both languages. United States Senator S.I. Hayakawa is one of the most vocal critics of bilingual education programs.

"If the bilingual language program is specifically for the purpose of helping the students learn English more rapidly, that's justifiable. But in all too many cases, the bilingual programs become a sort of postponement of learning."

Senator Hayakawa says that there is a secondary responsibility for the student, but it must come after the complete mastery of English.

"There is a secondary responsibility, but it is secondary: after you make yourself thoroughly at home in this culture by knowing English well, being able to write a decent English sentence, graduating from high school in English, then you may want to find out where you came from, where your parents came from, what your grandmother knows about the old country. In my case I didn't start doing this after high school; I didn't start until after I got my PhD in English. The first thing I did then was to go over to Japan and find out where my ancestors came from and visit my father and mother's home town. But my first responsibility was to be an adequate scholar in this country in my chosen field. I think that's what everyone should do as an immigrant—master this culture, and then later on as you mature in your education, then naturally you have curiosity about your background as I had about mine, and we should learn it. But I would emphasize that it is a secondary responsibility."

Senator Hayakawa had originally gone much further in his criticism of bilingual education. He had said it was a program for cultural chauvinism and might lead to separatist movements in the United States like those in Canada. Is this comparison justifiable? Quebec Premier Rene Levesque:

"I've noticed Spanish identity even in Chicago but more predominantly in

California, and one thing is for sure: a lot of even relatively new people here and elsewhere in the United States will not be assimilated as easily as before—whether it's the *Roots* phenomenon or a trend in society, people hang on to their identity much more than they used to. It's not the same as, 'Send me your poor; send me your starved' and the torch for Liberty. That was a great symbol, but now things are more complicated and you can't go back to simplistic answers.

"Now in our case it's not the same thing at all. Canada was not built on any kind of melting pot idea; it was built on two cultures, two identities, and the hypocrisies of 100 years of history haven't changed that. There's a developing French society which is close to 400 years old; it is the oldest European home-grown society on the continent with the same basic democratic beginning, just as staunchly and authentically North American as anybody else. Now it's maturing, and doing it democratically. It's looking toward self-government, not to rupturing Canada next door, but since there are two very definite identities, seeking a new arrangement between the two because muddling through in the good old traditional way will not solve the problem. The problem has become more or less poisonous."

Canada, of course, is not the only nation where language diversity has become a political issue. Belgium has two official languages; Flemish and French. The country is divided into three distinct sections; in the north there are the Flemish-speaking people of Flanders; in the South the French-speaking Walloons. Then there is Brussels, officially bilingual.

Belgians have fought over language since they achieved independence from the Netherlands in 1830. But according to Mark DeBeve, a policy analyst for the Belgian government, it wasn't until the abdication of King Leopold in the mid-nineteen fifties that the intensity of the conflict became evident. Then, for the first time in history, it was openly and bluntly seen that the Flemish public opinion and the Walloon public opinion reacts absolutely differently to a given problem. We were in that period on the very brink of civil war."

Civil war was avoided, but the problems continued and continue to this day. To travel in Belgium is to be an unwilling victim of the linguistic conflict. Neither French-speaking Wallonia nor Dutch-speaking Flanders feel any need for bilingualism. Road signs are in the language of whatever area you are in at the time. In Brussels, a bilingual enclave, you find road signs in both languages, and it is Brussels where the two languages meet and try to co-exist that poses the

*Projects in the CCH Public Policy category can take the form of radio and television documentary productions, provided that the total media presentation includes the same diversity of points of view and objectivity of treatment required of any project. For the first time, Humanities Network presents a virtually complete transcript of a one-hour radio production. It is the work of the Western Public Radio studios in San Francisco. Danny Tobias is the producer and narrator; Leo Lee, the Executive Producer.*



# The Limits of Sharing

By Garrett Hardin  
Professor of Human Ecology, University of California at Santa Barbara

Any nation in which action consistently runs contrary to the majority opinion would seem to be headed for trouble; this should particularly be true of a nation nominally committed to democracy. The United States is such a nation, and there is now a glaring discrepancy between the wishes of its citizens with respect to immigration and the actions of its legislators and administrative officials.

In the summer of 1977, the Roper organization took a reading of public opinion on population matters. Ninety-one per cent of the sample agreed that we should make an all-out effort to stop the illegal entry of approximately 1.5 million foreigners each year. In commenting on this finding, Burns Roper remarked, "It is rare on any poll question to find such a lopsided result."

It cannot be successfully maintained that this near-unanimity is the result of media indoctrination. Until the summer of 1976, the media had little to say about immigration, though the Immigration and Naturalization Service repeatedly called attention to the rapid increase in such immigration. Residents of cities near the Mexican border had enough personal experience to be willing to bet that the situation was getting worse. Even many people in manufacturing centers in the Midwest and Northeast began to suspect what was happening. Hard data are hard to come by, but the I.N.S. raised its estimate of illegal immigration to 1.7 million during the last year of the Ford administration. (This figure should be compared with the approximately four hundred thousand who enter legally each year.)

Of course the figures for any illegal activity are necessarily imprecise, a fact

that can be used to thwart any attempt to institute corrective action. It seems so scientific to say, "Let's find out the *exact* facts before we act," but in the practical world there is no such thing as inaction. Since time has no stop, not to act is to act. As Robert Allen has said, "If you jump out of an airplane you are better off with a parachute than an altimeter." Obstructionists insist that we take an altimeter reading before buying a parachute — and then see to it that we have no altimeter. When Jimmy Carter became President he appointed Leonel J. Castillo head of the I.N.S. One of Commissioner Castillo's first acts was to clamp a secrecy lid on all estimates of illegal immigration.

The label "liberal" has been much overused, but I think most people feel that letting immigrants in is a liberal sort of thing to do, and that keeping them out is illiberal. It might be argued that the Roper poll merely revealed how bigoted Americans are. But the same poll revealed that only six per cent of the respondents favored the sterilization of women after they have had three children as an appropriate way to control population.

The nature of an opinion poll does not permit an indisputable interpretation of the public mind, but I would like to suggest one way of making sense of the Roper poll. From this and other surveys it is known that the majority of the public agrees that there is a population problem. The question is, what sort of a problem is it? Is it a world population problem, as is so often said? The results of the Roper poll imply otherwise; they imply that people — taxpayers, voters — see population as a multitude of national problems. Since each national problem is a local problem it must be handled

locally.

As far as we Americans are concerned we do not think the American population problem so desperate as to justify the extreme measure of compulsory sterilization. What some other country does about its possibly worse population problem is its business; but we don't want any country to export its population problem into our country. Not only do 91% of us agree that we should try very hard to prevent illegal entry, but that same Roper poll showed that 75% of us agree that even the legal allowance of approximately 400,000 immigrants per year is too high. National population problems must be handled nationally: we are not going to play patsy to the world.

step. Since the intellectual basis for the position of the silent majority has not been adequately presented to the public, I offer such a presentation here, following which I will try to discover why so obvious a call for action is ignored.

No responsible agency has asserted that the right to migrate *into* a country is a fundamental human right, though the opposite right is proclaimed in Article 13, Section 2 of the United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights: "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country." To assert a person's right to enter a country not his own would be tantamount to claiming the right of invasion. That the invasion might be gradual and peaceful is only second-

*Professor Hardin's remarks were delivered at a symposium on Immigration Issues sponsored by the Robert Maynard Hutchins Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at the University of California at Santa Barbara. This article, and the one by Professor Jorge Bustamante on page 1, were excerpted from the Center's publication, World Issues, of February, March 1978.*

That summary, I think (though I cannot prove I am right), expresses the American temper, which stands in stark contrast to conventional clichés used by media "intellectuals": world population problems — world hunger — one world — spaceship earth — the global village. Listening to the pundits of radio, television, newspapers, and the liberal magazines one would never guess that 91% of the populace does not "buy" the liberal clichés. Who is out of step — the intellectuals or the "silent majority"? I submit that the intellectuals are out of

darily relevant to the moral question.

Let us begin by sweeping several red herrings out of the way. First, I do not assert that immigrants are inferior to citizens. The problem of innate quality is so complicated (and perhaps insoluble) that it is operationally wise to assume an innate equality between immigrants and longtime occupants of a land. The issue discussed here will be concerned with quantity, not quality.

Second, I know of no thoughtful person who would (if he could) stop *all* immigration. The benefits of variety, of

## A Spanish-Speaking California --

biggest threat, according to Mark DeBevoise:

"The situation in Brussels is very disagreeable for the Flemings. The great majority of the Brussels population is French-speaking now somewhere between 80 and 90%, and that includes the original Brussels Belgian population plus all the foreigners who live here. Brussels has such an international status that now we find here Italians, Spaniards, Poles, Arab people, Turkish, Greek, all these peoples among the immigrant workers. We have also all the people who come in the wake of the international institutions like the EEC and NATO, and when they want to use an international language with local population they speak of course French, and not Dutch, which gives to the Fleming in Brussels, even more than before, the impression that he lives in a foreign city."

If two languages cannot co-exist, how can a country get along with four? For that is the situation in Switzerland: German, French and Italian are all official languages, and *Rumantch*, a Latin-Italian dialect, has the status of a recog-

nized national language. To listen to the radio in a Swiss hotel is to remain in one place while taking a linguistic tour of Europe.

Vincent Philippe lives in Lausanne and works for a French-language newspaper. He has a view of how the Swiss style of pluralism differs from our American concept of nationhood: "Your country is based on the principle of the melting pot—everybody, from whichever country he comes, has to adapt to be an American. Switzerland is the opposite, absolutely the opposite. Switzerland would blow up if the language of each of its parts would not be respected."

Switzerland is composed of 23 cantons, or ministates, and it is the canton which decides what its official language will be. Seventy-five percent of the population speaks German, but of the 23 cantons only 14 have German as the single official language. Four are French; one is Italian, three are bilingual, and one is trilingual. In a world that has witnessed racial strife and ethnic conflicts, Switzerland is often cited as the model case of

cultural existence. That special miracle status has been tested just recently and appears to have passed. During the last 20 years Switzerland has seen the rise of a political movement in the northwestern corner of the country, in the French-speaking section of the canton Berne, with the aim of splitting the French-speaking area in the Jura mountains off from German-speaking canton Berne and creating a new canton within the Swiss confederation. The result of this move was a political cleavage which in recent years led to physical violence—fights, bombings, and arson. Dr. Max Frankel, a policy analyst for the Swiss government, worked closely on the Jura question.

"There were people imprisoned, but for arson and other things that fall under the normal criminal code. There was no large sweeping up of people who were thought to be sympathetic for then you would have to take in all of the Jura, which would have been rather difficult."

On September 24 of last year the entire Swiss nation voted on a referendum

to create the new canton of Jura, and it passed by more than four to one.

But can the Swiss, Belgian and Canadian experiences with linguistic differences offer anything to California? What will happen here when the Chicano population becomes the majority?

Abe Tapia ran for the office of Lieutenant Governor in the California democratic primary. He lost, but his campaign may be reflective of the emerging Chicano politician.

"We have alliances already set up within Mexico, with the structure of Mexico, and I was criticized a lot during the campaign because some people would suggest that Mr. Tapia, if he gets elected, would probably try to make a motion somewhere along the line in the legislature that we turn back California to Mexico. The fact that we're beginning to become a majority is not to be looked at as a threat. I think that we'll need all the help we can get, and we're not asking the white majority to leave; we're asking them to participate with us."





periodic fresh infusions of new peoples and new ideas are real. No adventurous, lively nation wants to forego them. But how many immigrants are needed to secure these benefits? A thousand per year? Ten thousand? Surely not more. Moreover, if the seasoning of variety is what we desire to secure by immigration, we should discriminate among immigrants, preferentially admitting those who personally embody more of the culture of their homeland rather than those who carry a lesser load: bluntly, we should discriminate in favor of the rich and against the poor. (This would, of course, raise another difficult moral issue, that of the "brain drain.")

Adding legal immigrants to the illegals, it appears that the United States is now being invaded by approximately 2,000,000 immigrants per year. Of all the other sovereign countries in the United Nations, not one is subject to anything like such an invasion. In fact, yearly immigrants into the United States outnumber the immigrants into all other nations combined. To reduce the immigration rate to a fraction of its present value (as desired by more than  $\frac{3}{4}$  of our citizens) would merely be to bring our country in line with the international norm.

"But we are a nation of immigrants! How can we slam the door now that we are inside?" True, America is a nation of immigrants, but we are not unique. Every country is a nation of immigrants, often many waves of them. All that varies is the stage of development. In the early stages, immigrants — working bodies — are needed to populate an open country. Ultimately there comes the time when no more bodies are needed; when, indeed, further heavy immigration is destructive of national goals. At this point, the descendants of the earlier immigrants had better muster the moral courage to shut the great barn door. To meet temporary labor crises, "guest workers" might be admitted for strictly limited periods now and then; but the inflow should be no more than a trickle, and it should soon

be reversed. Citizenship is rigidly rationed by almost every country except the United States. We are the victims of clichés appropriate only to an earlier stage of national development. We act immaturely.

Is this because our nation as a whole is passing through an identity crisis similar to that of adolescent individual human beings? Vietnam, Watergate, and other events of the past 15 years have had a destabilizing effect on the national psyche. A country that is sure of itself quite properly wants to acculturate new immigrants in approximately its own image. Large masses cannot be acculturated rapidly enough; they undermine the shared culture, they erode national unity. The fact that the United States is in an identity crisis may indeed explain our unwillingness to conserve our culture, but it hardly excuses it; rather, the crisis makes more necessary a close control of the inflow of immigrants while we work through our own problems.

There is no clearer indication of our psychological insecurity than the 1975 extension of the United States Voting Rights Act which decreed that ballots must be provided in the language of any foreign-language group that exceeds five per cent of the voters in a district. The expense of voting — one of the necessary expenses of democracy — is escalating in area after area.

The good intentions underlying this law are obvious and praiseworthy: they are to make minorities feel more welcome, to help them preserve their familiar and comforting subcultures. But of this well-intentioned act, as of all good intentions, we must ask the ecologist's question, "And then what?" As we continue to pursue this policy what will the ultimate consequences be? Plainly Babel, against which the Bible warns us. How can we achieve anything like national unity if we lack the courage to insist that the language of the majority — the vast majority be it noted — must be the only language for exercising the franchise

of citizenship? We have become a people who quail at the word "minority." We have lost our common sense.

The desire to encourage widespread knowledge of other cultures is, of course, a worthy one, but it can be better served by other means. We must distinguish between two meanings of the word "culture." As the anthropologist uses the word, every people, no matter how poor or uneducated, has culture — call it culture-A. The humanist, however, uses the word in a more value-laden sense to include knowledge and love of the arts, the literature, and the history of a particular people. Call this culture-H. It is a degree of pluralism in culture-H that we want to encourage. Immigrants who come here to escape grinding poverty bring (by definition) a standard load of culture-A, but most of them (in fact) bring precious little culture-H. They should not be blamed; this deficiency is just one of the consequences of poverty. But how much will the immigrants' retention of their culture-H, or their acquisition of a new culture-H, be furthered by excusing them from learning English? Certainly the native majority receives little benefit from the expense of the Voting Rights Act. If we are serious about diminishing the provincialism of the native majority, let us make a working knowledge of at least one foreign language a requirement of citizenship for all. Immigrants should be able to fulfill this requirement more easily than natives. For both groups, language education should be continued until the associated culture-H can be comprehended. Without doubt, such a proposal would be dismissed as Utopian. The aim of the Voting Rights Act is probably purely cosmetic. It is an expensive and deceptive cosmetic.

The case against unrestricted immigration rests on the fundamental theory of the commons. A commons is a resource exploited according to the directive of Karl Marx: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." What this means in practice, and why it

leads to ruin, can be illustrated in the developing tragedy of the oceanic fisheries.

The oceans are open to fishing by all nations, each taking out whatever its abilities permit, as dictated by its needs as it sees them. There is no supranational authority to define the needs or control the actions of each nation. Two billion years of evolution have selected for organisms that define their own needs in a wholly selfish, greedy way. Any hypothetical variants that might define the needs of ego in a more altruistic way have necessarily been selected against. Associations of organisms (families, tribes, and nations) may enforce less egoistic definitions of needs. No such organization yet exists for the oceanic fisheries, however. In the absence of a management facility, these are exploited according to the pure Marxian principle. As long as the physical world was large, relative to world population, the unmanaged commons of the oceans worked well enough. This is no longer the case. For the past 20 years the trend of the ocean harvests has been irregularly downward, in spite of a steady upward trend in fishing effort. The reason for this developing ruin is quite simple: intemperance in individual demand (justified by "need") pays off to the individual. Any nation that would temper its demands to the interests of all humanity would merely increase the harvest by less temperate nations. Such is the "tragedy of the commons." The only remedy is to get rid of unmanaged commons, to restrict the freedom of individuals to take from the common resources.

National territory is a fragment of the world's resources cut off from the commons. By the definition of sovereignty the territory of a nation is not freely open to exploitation by extranationals who might feel a need. As long as this restriction is enforced, there is the possibility that national resources may be wisely managed, leading to a steady-state economy. (They may not, of course.)

But there are some radical elements in the Chicano community who already speak openly of the possibility of separation. Those radical elements will continue to move in that direction and their support will grow unless certain steps are taken. United States Appellate Court Judge Cruz Reynoso:

"Recognizing cultures other than Anglo ought to be uppermost in the agenda of the English-speaking Anglo community. Absent that, there may easily be a continuing sense of frustration and resentment by those who do not speak English, who do not have white skin, who have ethnicities other than Anglo. If that sort of resentment were to continue and grow, then there might be the type of tensions that we have seen developed in Quebec in the last 10 or 20 years."

But Professor Robert Zimmer disagrees: "I don't see separatism in the United States in the same way as I do in countries like Canada and Belgium and Switzerland. I think that the nature of the population, the way it is distributed, and the nature of the Federal system in this country prevent that kind of politics

from developing."

Attorney Ricardo Callejo believes that California can benefit from the Canadian experience. "Since 1969 the Canadians have had an Official Languages Act, and we can benefit enormously by adapting much of what they are doing. An Official Languages Act would essentially recognize that wherever there's five percent or more of a given language-speaking population in the United States, they have the same rights as the English-speaking for all governmental purposes."

Lorenzo Patino is an attorney and political organizer. He was a coordinator in the Chicano effort for Governor Jerry Brown in the last election (1978):

"In 1974, many of us had talked about a possible constitutional amendment that would establish once and for all a right to, for example, governmental services in Spanish. I think that at this point I am satisfied with the progress that has been made; I don't think there's any need for a constitutional amendment or a special act."

United States Appellate Court Judge Cruz Reynoso: "That would be necessary only if people of Mexican descent spoke

nothing but Spanish. The new arrivals, the older people, certainly speak Spanish only and do need assistance with bilingual ballots and bilingual materials of all kinds, but as the years go by the Mexican-American people and people of other Latin-American cultures are going to be bilingual and bicultural, and we must all speak English as our first language. So there is no need to make Spanish an official language any more than there is a need to make Cantonese or Philippino or Portuguese."

State Assemblyman Peter Chacon represents San Diego in the legislature:

"I think I'd rather leave it with there being no 'official language,' and simply have it that our institutions, our schools, our government recognize that every individual has a right, individually, and professionally in business, to deal in languages other than English."

But having that right and trying to exercise it are two different things according to Irene Tovar, vice-president of the California State Personnel Board. "I wish someone would be placed in a Chicano's soul, for just two seconds, when he goes before the City Council, and under-

stands how a Chicano or Chicana may feel asking for, let's say, better streets in some part of East L.A. I look at the composition of the City Council in my city, La Ciudad de Los Angeles, and there is no one there representing us. I'm going really, symbolically, hat in hand, begging for my own money that I've already paid as a taxpayer, and I can't find representation. It's fine that someone may be paternalistically sympathetic, but I don't want to be treated paternalistically. I want to be treated with my own dignity as the person I am."

Chicanos in California are just beginning to recognize and develop their political potential, but in essence it's the second time around for them. According to Professor Richard Santillan, Chicanos had political power in California shortly after the war with Mexico. They they lost it. "Even 30 years after the Mexican-American War, there was a tremendous amount of Chicano representation in the state and also in local government. But when Alex Garcia was elected in 1968 to the Assembly, he was the first Mexican-American there for about 50 years. When Senator Ayala was elected to the Senate,



# The Limits of Sharing--

Among nations, as among many people, there are foolish virgins.)

But a nation that fails to enforce its sovereign rights to exclude others from the exploitation of its internal resources (as by permitting uncontrolled, or insufficiently controlled, immigration) thereby converts its own resources into a commons, with the inevitable tragic ruin. Poor extra-nationals will seek to satisfy their needs by moving into a rich nation, sharing its wealth which it diminishes in the process of sharing. Uncontrolled immigration will not come to a halt until the wealth of the receiving country is reduced to the level of the nation supplying the immigrants, i.e., until the poor would-be immigrants perceive no more possibility of satisfying their need by migrating. "Share the wealth" is an illusory goal: only poverty can be shared.

If immigration were a one-time affair the danger of sharing might be safely ignored. But unrestrained population growth, continued indefinitely into the future, constitutes a threat without limit. Mexico is the largest source of immigrants into the United States at the moment, contributing (it is believed) about 2/3 of the inflow. (Other sources may become more important in the future. What is said here about Mexican immigration may soon be applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to immigration from other countries.)

For the present, let us focus on the Mexican-U.S. population dynamics. As of 1977, the official population of Mexico was 63,000,000 and its rate of national increase was 3.7%. This means that the yearly increase (neglecting emigration) was 2,331,000 people. The U.S. population was 224,000,000 and the rate of increase not counting immigration was 0.5%; this yields a yearly increase of 1,120,000.

In other words, Mexico, with only 28% as great a population produced 108%

more people in absolute numbers. Because population grows by compound interest, the disparity in population growth, in the absence of fundamental changes, will increase year by year. The potential for Mexican immigration (not to mention immigration from other sources) to overwhelm the resident U.S. population in the course of time is obvious. Tragically, impoverishing the United States cannot improve the situation in Mexico, as long as Mexican fertility remains undiminished.

In a finite world — and that is the only world we know — any rate of population increase greater than a flat zero is, ultimately, too high a rate. Population control is the greatest problem for all nations, and it is not solved by emigration — which merely encourages a nation's leaders to evade the hard issue of population control in their own territory. By resorting to emigration an overpopulated country can export its problems to any country that is foolish enough to permit uncontrolled immigration — with no long-term gain to either nation.

The foundation on which any ethical analysis of immigration must be erected is this: no policy, however amiable in intent, that produces mutual ruin in the long run can be defended on ethical grounds.

Massive immigration damages the receiving nation even in the near term. Every new baby or new immigrant imposes acculturation costs — both monetary and other — on the nurturant nation. Unless the utter disruption of the native culture is regarded as a matter of no moment, the public costs of acculturating immigrants and the children of immigrants is much greater than the public costs of acculturating the children of longtime residents. The present U.S. population of 224,000,000 people with a fertility of 14 per thousand produces 3,136,000 children in a year. If the year's

inflow of immigrants (legal and illegal) is 2,000,000 this means that the load of immigrants to be acculturated is 64% as great as the acculturation load of new babies. That estimate is based on counting only bodies. Actually, many of the new babies are born into immigrant homes and will impose an even heavier acculturation cost on the public — and next year there will be a new wave of fertile immigrants.

From the point of view of welfare economics, illuminated by human ecological insights, the case against unrestricted immigration in a crowded world is overwhelming. Common folk, outside idealistic and bemused academia, understand this perfectly well and always have. Unfortunately those who speak in the American media are more influenced by academia than by the common folk. "Intellectuals" — more accurately described as "verbals" — are reluctant to reexamine old clichés. "A nation of immigrants," "the open door policy," "my brother's keeper," "fortress America," "isolationism," "for whom the bell tolls": these are only a few of the verbal blockages that are being imposed against independent thought.

In addition to the semantic problem there is the substantive problem of finding an effective political constituency for restrictive immigration policies. It is easy to verify that many people, as individuals, and many groups, as groups, stand to benefit by unrestricted immigration in the short run, even though, as American citizens, they (and their progeny) will lose in the long run. In a moment of cynicism John Maynard Keynes once said, "In the long run we are all dead"; unfortunately this bon mot admirably excuses shallow scholars from taking the long view. Unfortunately also, however much economists may discount the future, it is absolutely certain that it eventually gets to us.

Who, in fact, benefits by uncontrolled immigration? If it is illegal, the illegals dare not complain about being paid less than the legal minimum wage, so many employers benefit. Even if the wage offered is legal it may be too low to tempt resident Americans accustomed to the easy life, though it may be welcomed by ambitious immigrants fleeing even lower wages (or none at all) back home. Moreover, immigrants as a group are evidently willing to work harder than resident Americans, even at the same wage; immigrants may be more of a bargain for the employer than longtime citizens. Service jobs in restaurants and hotels have long been held by the latest wave of immigrants; employers maintain they could not stay in business if they had to depend on native labor. In a sense they may be right.

If we were honest with ourselves we would see that immigration reveals that we are hypocritical in our praise of the economic dogma of "the market." In a true market economy the price of a product should reflect all the costs, including labor, that go into it. If the price is high, economic demand will be less. The true cost may be greater than anyone is willing to pay, in which case the product "prices itself out of the market." (How long has it been since you bought a jar of pheasants' tongues in the supermarket?)

Growers of California lettuce have long maintained they could stay in business only if they had available low-priced "stoop labor" — illegal immigrants or "green card" holders (temporary guest workers). But there are other possibilities: the price of the produce could be raised to reflect higher labor costs; in that case New Yorkers would either eat higher-priced lettuce or do without. In the latter event, lettuce farms could be devoted to growing something else.

Cheap labor, like cheap manufacturing

## A Spanish-Speaking California--

he was the first Chicano in the Senate since 1912, and he was elected in 1973."

"I don't think we will wait until the year 2000 to see the positive changes. Governor Brown has opened the door of government to Mexican-Americans. When he came in there were three judges; now there are 35; statewide. When he came in, there had never been a Chicano member of a governor's cabinet; now we have a cabinet secretary. We have department directors and deputy directors. The thing that's very exciting, especially for me as a young professional, is that I feel I will be living at a time when the most exciting changes will take place."

"I would say that after Governor Jerry Brown leaves office you're going to see a very strong push for a Chicano or Mexican-American governor or lieutenant governor in California; I would expect that within the next ten years we may have, if not a Chicano governor or lieutenant governor, at least one of the strongest campaigns ever seen in California for

a Mexican-American for a constitutional office."

"The preparation and the voter registration drives at this point are aimed at the 1980 Presidential election. They're not aimed at the Republicans nor at the Democrats; although historically in ideology Mexican-Americans are conservative, in voting they're democrats. But I think the issue is not *La Raza Unida* nor whether they're Republicans or Democrats; the issue will be trying to assert themselves as a balance of power, block-voting type of issue where they will enter negotiations with either party and say, 'we have registered umpteen number of Mexican-Americans to vote and we will deliver the vote; what can you do for us?'"

"As president of the Mexican-American Political Association I am not wedded, and MAPA is not wedded, to the Democratic party or to the Republican party, because I don't think that is in the best interests of the Spanish-speaking

people of the United States. The more that our populations increases the more we're going to provide a balance between those parties, so that if the Republicans do something for us, fine—we'll support them, and if the Democrats do something for us we'll support them also."

The Chicano drive for political power is not only a question of negotiation with the two major parties; they see another group that must be dealt with.

"Blacks have become a part of the system that is taking us on in the same manner as the white community used to do it in the past. Now we've got two political enemies in order to acquire any kind of representation. So it's going to be tough, but I think that with the sheer numbers and the registrations that are coming about we will be able to effect it. Rather than going into warfare we'll go into direct political action and take it by voters, and we have a lot of friends other than Mexicans to help us in these campaigns."

Andre Torres is one of the founders of

*La Raza Unida* party, a Chicano political party that began in the sixties and claims to represent the needs and interests of the Chicano community.

"Looking around the world, we have no guarantee whatever that the interest, the welfare of the Mexican-Chicano community will be protected, will be spoken for. Consequently, from the standpoint of *La Raza Unida*, regardless of what society appears to be like, we need to begin now to develop a unified voice that speaks for the protection of the interest of the Mexican-Chicano community."

If that unified voice is developed and if it speaks for the majority population of California, what will it call for? What are the stakes in this cultural and political horse race? Eduardo Sandoval of the Mexican-American Political Association:

"We're talking about a state that would be seventh in world ranked economic power if it was a sovereign state. We're seeing that how California goes in the presidential elections has a lot to do with who will occupy the White House and who will stay out in the doghouse. So the ramifications are massive."





processes, fails to internalize all the costs. The owner of a smoky factory produces a cheap product because he imposes external costs on the community at large, which must pay the bills for cleaning clothes and buildings. Air pollution can increase medical costs also: lung diseases don't come cheap. The public interest dictates that all such costs be internalized. In a total accounting a clean factory is generally more economical than a smoky one — but it takes public action to compel the internalization of costs.

What is the true cost of labor? It is not only the cost of food to fuel a laborer's muscles; it is also the cost of clothing, housing, and a modicum of luxuries — automobiles, TV sets, public parks, etc. More important, since labor will not settle for an unalterable second-class citizenship, the true cost of labor includes whatever it takes to bring the laborer and his children ultimately into a condition of full membership in the community. Many of these costs are externalized as far as the employer is concerned: schools, health services, welfare payments.

It takes a tremendous community investment — over one or more generations — to bring the immigrant and his family fully into the community. Employers pay few of these external costs. Most are paid by the citizens at large. It takes a lot of money to turn new immigrants into fully acculturated citizens. The nominal low cost of immigrant labor is an illusion; but without community action — the passage and enforcement of laws — individual business enterprisers will continue to benefit from a dishonest accounting system.

We must note that the interests of the community, though great, are diffuse. I know that I lose every time one more immigrant comes across the border. To acculturate fully one more immigrant and his family may cost my nation a hundred thousand dollars. But that cost (whatever its true magnitude) is divided among

some 80,000,000 taxpayers; my proportionate share is less than a penny. The cost of a million immigrants is, of course, much more — over a thousand dollars per taxpayer, but this cost is invisibly spread over several decades. It is only by intellectualizing the matter that we see that immigrants do not come cheap. Our direct, intuitive appreciation of this reality is almost nil. It takes imagination to see the truth.

The ones who suffer most from "cheap" immigrant labor are the residents who get the worst deal in other respects: unskilled laborers, blacks, and teenagers not in school. This is a large constituency, but not an organized one. What about well-organized, powerful labor unions? They, if any people, should be the constituency working for restrictions on immigration. In fact, they are now taking only the first, hesitant steps. Why the apparent reluctance to pursue what is clearly in their own interest?

There is no over-all answer, but we can see a few partial answers. The United Farm Workers who, more than any other union, feel the pressure of immigrant labor, are ambivalent. The situation of their leader, Cesar Chavez, stands as a symbol for all: a native-born U.S. citizen, he has deep roots in Mexico. The typical U.F.W. member sees the need for stopping immigration, but he wants to delay any action until his cousins get in. Of course, the cousins, too, have cousins; and so on ad infinitum.

A century ago unemployed laborers who saw jobs being given to fresh immigrants reacted violently against the newcomers. Employers who benefited from cheap labor controlled the police force, which they used to repress labor's struggles to protect itself. Where did the "verbals," the journalists, stand in this fray? Most of them sided with the employers. Immigrants do not threaten to take jobs away from native "verbals," because new immigrants, particularly poor immigrants, are inept with words. It takes imagination for a "verbal" to

perceive the threat an immigrant poses to native manual workers. Most journalists fail to pass this test, contenting themselves with using their verbal skills to castigate native manual workers who seek to protect their livelihood: the words "bigotry," "chauvinism," and "prejudice" fill the air. Self-righteousness comes easy to the man whose rice bowl is not threatened.

In the days before the welfare state, if a laborer had no job he and his family were in danger of starving. All that is changed now. The welfare state has created a domestic commons into which unemployed laborers can dip. Life on unemployment and welfare payments is not as plush as it is on a weekly paycheck — reality does not yet quite live up to the Marxian ideal of "to each according to his need" — but the living is good enough to weaken the springs of action of any workers who might perceive a causal connection between immigration and unemployment. The vitality that is needed to support measures to prevent external pressures from making a commons of our land is missing, in large part because it has been weakened by the domestic commons of the welfare state.

It is unthinkingly presumed that in a nominally democratic state like ours the majority generally rules, particularly if it is an overwhelming majority. Immigration gives the lie to this presumption. Over 90% of us are against illegal immigration, but we apparently are unwilling to take the steps required to reduce the inflow to a trickle. Three-quarters of us think the legal quotas are too high, but we will not combine forces to persuade our legislators to lower the quotas. The long-term general interest in reducing immigration produces only a diffuse political power which is overwhelmed by the short-term, highly focused interests of housewives who want cheap maids, house-holders who want cheap gardeners, agriculturalists who want cheap stoop labor, hoteliers who want cheap chambermaids, restaurateurs who want cheap

waiters, and all beneficiaries of the commons called "welfare" who would rather have slightly less income with no work than more income with hard or unpleasant work. The myopia of all these people is hidden from view by an idealistic smoke screen thrown up by the "verbals," whose jobs are not threatened, who fail to see that multiplying the behavior of the Good Samaritan a millionfold or more each year sets us up on the road to the tragedy of the commons.

At present there is no constituency in the United States powerful enough to secure the end desired by the vast majority, namely a sharp curtailment of immigration. Democracy is placed in jeopardy by its apparent inability to meet the first test of any system — survival. The constituency opposed to community control of population growth flourishes. Already there are something like 10 or 12 million illegal immigrants in the country — about 5% of the population. The illegals are beginning to organize for political action to prevent the closing of the commons; they are aided and abetted in this by native political activists left over from the nineteen-sixties who apparently seek new worlds to conquer. When the army of illegal immigrants has doubled to 10% — which can happen in less than six years at the rate things are going now — their political power in the matter of immigration may well be irresistible. When that happens the United States will have lost control of its own destiny. Intent, perhaps, on diminishing world poverty, it will merely have become sucked into a commons that globalizes poverty.

A fate that is foreseen as clearly as this is surely not inevitable; but avoiding it will require a widespread education in the consequences of tolerating a commons in the distribution of resources in a limited world. Such an education can be achieved only if those who are masters of the media understand their role and accept their obligations in preventing catastrophe. There is still time — but not much. ☹

Earlier in this report we examined the languages and cultural experiences of other nations for parallels with the California situation. While in Europe, we wondered how the leaders we spoke with viewed the United States, and particularly the future for California. Belgian policy analyst, Marc DeBeve, in Brussels:

"I think that you're in for some good difficulties in the years to come. Your country has been built up by the White Anglo-Saxon Protestants who gave their image to lots of other minorities during practically two centuries; it is only in the latest decades that an evolution took place, and that was triggered off I think by the blacks, so that all the ethnics feel themselves now entitled to their own culture in your country. But I wonder what will happen with your Spanish-speaking people coming from Mexico. May I use perhaps a word that you will not appreciate, the South African word, 'apartheid,' separate development of the cultures side by side. This seems to me a better solution than a mix-up that comes down to a superficializing of everything."

Apartheid for California—separate development of Spanish and Anglo cultures—the concept runs contrary to every-

thing this country claims to represent. But from the Belgian perspective, it may be understandable. They actually have a form of apartheid there: one language group in the north, another in the south. But what about Switzerland? They deal with four languages and it seems to work. Why? Dr. Philip Hans Vader, Swiss Minister of Culture:

"We look at the different languages as a richness; we look at diversity as such as a cultural richness; German-speaking Swiss can learn from French-speaking Swiss, and vice versa. We are linked by the different languages and cultures in Europe, and this we would like to keep. Our history has taught us to respect minorities; otherwise we just couldn't exist, and would be split up and would disappear from the map. So our politics are based on compromise. This makes it a bit slow, sometimes, but it still works well enough. If it was up to us to give any advice it would be that tolerance is always a very good guide in politics and that cultural diversity always adds something and never takes away something, so I think it would be a gain to have Spanish and English and all other influences together."

How do the leaders of California's Chicano community see the future? Is there cause for fear on the part of the English-speaking as their proportional population declines?

"It is extremely scary to a lot of people to think that one day the Mexicano-Chicano may take over the state of California. I don't know why anybody would be so afraid. We've been living under a different rule—another group ruling us—for over a period of some years, and we've been able to survive."

"We are going to be bilingual, bicultural. We are going to be first and foremost American citizens with allegiance to our country and love of our country but we are not going to cease to esteem our culture, our heritage, our background. We are not going to stop using our language, because that is absolutely ridiculous. To say that an American citizen can only speak English, can only eat apple pie, that he can only have turkey for Thanksgiving—is absurd; it's childish."

"The Anglo-Saxon Teutonic for many years has held power. Their people have received the benefits of this great nation. And now the black American in recent years has come to the fore. When the

Hispanic comes to the fore and it's just a matter of time—the Hispanic people of the U.S. are also going to be recipients of the benefits and rewards of this great country."

"We are not a minority. We never have been a minority. We look south—there are six hundred million people that are woven out of the same piece of cloth. I'm talking about central America, Latin America and Mexico. This is the reality for the Anglo community—they are the minority, and the situation that confronted them, say in Latin America at the time of the Panama Canal, and other areas, is going to confront them here."

As California rushes toward becoming the nation's first third world state with a clear Chicano majority population, the challenge facing California takes on a growing sense of urgency. Decisions must be made in the areas of language policy, government and social services, education, employment, virtually the entire spectrum of our lives must be examined and re-examined to deal squarely with what lies ahead. As one Chicano leader said, "We must not forget the neglect of the past. We also must not let it blind us to the task of the future." ☹



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## California's Hispanic Community

# HUMANITIES NETWORK



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NINOS JUGANDO

Harry Polkinhorn photo

This photograph was selected from a 10-part photo essay on the U.S.-Mexican border. Harry Polkinhorn is a free-lance photographer and poet, and an instructor in humanities at San Diego State University, Imperial Valley Campus.